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ABSTRACT

Noting that despite increasing research into ethnic minority media and audience analysis, specific Asian American populations and the media serving them have been largely ignored, this paper identifies and examines the media organizations serving various Asian American populations. The first part of the paper reviews the growth of Asian American audiences--specifically Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, and Koreans--and their general demographic characteristics. The second section of the paper examines the Asian American media operating in the Los Angeles, California, area, where large numbers of Asian Americans live. The third section analyzes data gathered from several studies of Asian American audiences and their media habits, communication channels, and other media behaviors. From this analysis, the paper draws the following conclusions: (1) there is an evolutionary process in the growth of Asian American media; (2) there is a pattern of inequality in Asian American media services for their audiences in general; (3) the content of Asian American media is generally designed to meet the needs of audiences by emphasizing news about the community and the native country, along with cultural and entertainment news; and (4) there is a pattern of dependency on their own media by Asian Americans. (FL)

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ASIAN AMERICAN MEDIA AND AUDIENCES:

AN INSTITUTIONAL AND AUDIENCE ANALYSIS

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ASIAN AMERICAN MEDIA AND AUDIENCES: AN INSTITUTIONAL AND AUDIENCE ANALYSIS

The persistence of ethnicity and ethnic group attachments has been one of myths in American society. Despite all the forces of urbanization, industrialization and social mobility in a modern society such as that of America, American ethnics have not disappeared into a "melting pot" as many had though they would. Ethnic cultures have sustained distinctive patterns of values, attitudes and behaviors which have differentiated various segments of the American population. Furthermore, the rise of ethnic power movements during the 1960s has cast considerable doubt upon validity of the melting pot process by which ethnic minorities were thought to assimilate into the homogeneous American society. In the landmark work of ethnic life in the United States, Glazer and Moynihan (1963) denigrated the melting pot symbol quite bluntly: "The point about the emlting pot is that it did not happen (p. 290)." Novak (1971) later restated this more emphatically: "But there never was a melting pot; there is not now a melting pot; there never will be a melting pot... (p. xiii)."

While there is increasing research evidence that ethnicity persists into many generations and pervades all spheres of life among ethnic groups and that the resulting ethnic pluralism has affected various aspects of American life, including politics, religion, social mobility, and other aspects of social life (Abramson, 1973; Cohen, 1977; Greeley, 1974; Kutner, 1976; Laumann, 1973; Sengstock, 1977; Shibutani and Kwan, 1965; Parenti, 1967; Wolfinger, 1965), little attention has been paid to the role of mass media communication in ethnic life. Communication networks hold social systems together including ethnic cultural systems; yet little attention has been paid to the relationship between characteristics of such systems and the channels of communication.

What is the role of mass media communication in ethnic group formation and life? The essential mechanism by which the mass media can affect ethnic groups over the long run is through affecting the socialization process of ethnics, whether one approaches to the process from an assimilation perspective or from an ethnic pluralism perspective. Here we need to make a distinction between the general majority media and the ethnic minority media. Since socialization is the process by which the norms and values of one generation are passed on to the next, we would expect the general media and ethnic media to affect ethnics in different ways. Certainly, the general mass media targeted for majorities of a society provide out-group linkages for ethnic minorities and would strengthen majority-minority intergroup links while weakening ethnic intragroup links. On the other hand, the reverse would be expected for ethnic media which would strengthen ethnic intragroup links and supplement interpersonal communication channels in relation to ethnic group attachment.

In the United States, the breadth of ethnic mass media is well illustrated by the lists of newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations which target their content at ethnic audiences. Shibutani and Kwan (1965) noted that almost every concentration of immigrants was served by at least one newspaper in the U.S. Radio also seems to have penetrated into ethnic communities at the similar level in recent years. According to recent data, there were some 480 ethnic newspapers in the U.S., including some 240 foreign language newspapers (1980 Editor & Publisher International Yearbook); there were also some 1,700 radio stations with ethnic formats, including some 500 black-oriented stations and some 480 Spanish programming stations (Broadcasting Yearbook 1980).

A number of studies concerned with ethnic mass media have demonstrated that the ethnic media exist for the unassimilated ethnic whose life still centers around ethnic enclaves in many city neighborhoods (Gutierrez, 1977: Lyle, 1968;

McCue, 1975; Jeffres and Hur, 1979; Surlin, 1973; Valenzuella, 1980). By providing information and entertainment of the ethnic community and "the mother country," the ethnic media seem to meet the needs not fulfilled by the general majority media. Ward and Gaziano (1976) pointed to the appearance of neighborhood newspapers to meet the needs of ethnic communities, and Surlin (1973) detailed functions of black radio to serve black communities in the U.S.

Also, a number of studies examining ethnic minority media behavior have demonstrated distinctive ethnic differences in their media habits and attitudes (Allen, 1980; Bogart, 1972; Carey, 1966; Dunn, 1976; Fletcher, 1969; Jeffres and Hur, 1979; 1980; Poindexter and Stroman, 1979; Stroman and Becker, 1978; Tan, 1978; Tan and Tan, 1979; Valenzuela, 1973). In a recent review of minority audience research, Comstock and Cobbey (1979) have thus concluded that ethnic minorities not only have a distinctive orientation toward television and other media, but also different tastes and preferences in television programming and other media content.

Increasing attention to ethnic communication research, coupled with the resurgence of ethnicity studies, then, suggest that we need to look at the structure of American ethnic media on one hand and media behavior of American ethnics on the other in order to understand how ethnic media operate in the socialization process of ethnics.

The purpose of this paper is to identify and examine Asian American media and their audiences. Despite the increasing research in ethnic minority media and audience research in recent years, specific Asian American populations and the media serving these populations have been largely left unexamined. This paper is a modest attempt to bring mass communication researchers' attention to these specific populations and their media organizations.

The paper is composed of three parts. First, there is a review of the

growth of the Asian American audiences and their general demographic characteristics. Second, there is an examination of the Asian American media whose data were gathered largely from the Los Angeles area -- the home of Asian Americans in terms of both geography and population concentration. Third, there is an analysis of data gathered from several studies of Asian American audiences in their media habits, communication channels and other variables related to their media behavior.

Definition and Limitation:

Asian-Americans defined in the present paper include Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, and Koreans. While there are many other ethnic groups that can be categorized as Asian-Americans such as Vietnamese, Thais, and even Indians, they were not included in the present analysis mainly because of their short history of immigration/settlement or their relatively small population size in this country. Also, the classification used in this paper is in accordance with the United States Bureau of Census data classification in which more detailed population characteristics of Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos and Koreans were provided. However, inclusion of Vietnamese and other Indochinese populations is warranted in future research, since the proportion of these groups in the United States has been increasing at the fastest rate in recent years.

Asian-Americans and Their Demographic Characteristics:

Asian-Americans in the United States have been one of the nation's fastest growing ethnic groups for the last ten years. In 1970, the U.S. Bureau of Census estimated that Asian-Americans constituted less than one percent of the total United States population. A decade later, the Bureau estimated the

Asian proportion at six percent and admitted this figure a probable undercount. This growth rate of Asian-Americans in the United States is largely due to the increasing number of Asian immigrants to the United States in recent years. Changes in immigration policy embodied in the McClellan Immigration Act of 1965 ensured a steady flow of Asian immigrants to the United States. The number of Asian immigrants in the United States increased from some 21,000 in 1965 to some 160,000 in 1977, about a 600 percent increase. In 1965, Asians constituted only 7 percent of the total immigrant population; by 1977, the Asian proportion increased to about 32 percent. Interestingly, the majority of these Asian immigrants to the United States had come from three countries until 1978: Taiwan, Korea and the Philippines. For instance, immigrants from these three countries constituted over 60 percent of the total Asian immigrants in 1977. Beginning with 1978, Vietnamese have added a new scene to this immigration picture. In 1978, there were some 90,000 Vietnamese immigrants admitted to the United States, the second largest figure to the Mexican immigrants. Added to these official immigrants figures has been the increasing number of Indochina refugees admitted in the United States in the last five years. Since 1975, between 130,000 and 150,000 Indochinese refugees have annually entered into the United States. Thus, when these Vietnamese and other Indochinese refugees begin to appear in official census data, Asians will compromise an even larger proportion of ethnic minorities in the United States.

Data presented in Table 1, though somehwat outdated, illustrate some of Asian-American population characteristics. Perhaps the most interesting data are the ratio between foreign-born and native populations for each of the four Asian-American groups. While both the Japanese and Chinese populations were composed of more American-born populations than foreign-born populations, the reverse was held for the Filipino and Korean populations. This pattern is

expected to exist in the 1980's, except for the Chinese community which has been experiencing a continuous increase in new immigrants. The Japanese community has not seen any significant increase in new immigrants over the last ten years. The number of Japanese immigrants to the United States has been relatively small and stable; for instance, the number of Japanese immigrants was some 3,000 in 1965 and some 4,000 in 1977.

In general, populations characteristics of Asian-Americans correspond to the history of Asian migration to the United States. Although there is variation in the pattern of immigration between and among four Asian-American groups, Asian migration to the United States occurred in two distinctive movements. The first movement, beginning between the 1890's and 1920's, was composed mainly of unskilled farm laborers who settled primarily in Hawaii and the West. They were often illiterate and from rural areas of their mother country. The second movement, occurring largely after 1965, consisted mostly of paraprofessionals and professionals who had a wider range of interests and skills and also settled in the Midwest and the East. They were usually from a modern, urban environment and well educated in their mother country. In other words, the differences between the two groups of immigrants are the level of educational achievement and the occupation status. Various statistics on Asian-American population indicate that the new wave of Asian immigrants of the later generations of the early immigrants have a higher educational level and more professional occupation status than the old immigrant generations (Chang, 1972; Connor, 1977; Hart, 1977; Hsu, 1971; Kim, 1977; Lee, 1979; McCue, 1975; Melendy, 1974).

--INSERT TABLE 1 HERE --

Table 1 shows comparative data on the socio-economic characteristics of the four Asian-American populations. The Japanese and the Korean populations are somewhat similar in their socio-economic characteristics. Their educational and income level appears to be higher than those of the Chinese and Filipino populations; the Filipino population has the lowest educational and income level. It appears, then, that the socio-economic achievement of Asian immigrants is not related to the history of immigration. In spite of its short immigration history, the Korean-American population seems to have achieved a similar or even higher income level than the Japanese and Chinese populations. Such is not the case for the Filipino population. This suggests that another important factor for distinguishing ethnic minority groups is the degree of assimilation which has been often correlated to social mobility in ethnicity research (Alba, 1976; Gordon, 1964).

In summary, Asian-Americans have expanded rapidly in the past decade and are expected to continue to do so in the years ahead. In order to recognize and meet the needs and interests of these specific Oriental subcultures in the American media, their socio-demographic characteristics must be explained both within-group and across-group settings. The above discussion has thus shown the differences between two distinctive groups within each population and the differences across the four specific Asian-American groups.

Asian American Media:

Many media observers argue that ethnic minority groups have always been discriminated against in this country by the American mass media. Sandman and his colleagues (1976) note the following:

> Denied access to the majority media, and in many cases unable to understand the language of the majority media, ethnic minorities have traditionally organized their own. Though they could not speak to the WASPs, they could at least speak to each other (pp. 436-437).

While this argument can and should be further substantiated through an analysis of ethnic minorities' media habits and attitudes, the organizational history of ethnic media indicates that ethnic media began to appear almost at the same time as the begining of American immigration. As early as 1732, foreign-language newspapers began to emerge in America. The German press, the Philadelphia Zeitung, led the list, followed by the French, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Scandinavian, and other ethnic papers. By 1914, the height of American immigration, there were more than 1,300 foreign-language publications in the country.

Though there are a number of studies on the earlier immigrant press (Park, 1922), no systematic study on Asian American press in this early period is available. In general, however, the growth of Asian American press is similar to that of other immigrant press. Both Chinese-language and Japanese-language newspapers began to appear first with their early immigration history, followed by Filipino and Korean newspapers. For example, the older Japanese-language and Chinese-language newspapers appeared in New York and San Francisco in the early 1900s, while the first Filipino press, the Philippines Mail, began publishing in Los Angeles in 1930 and the first Korean-language newspaper, Hahn Min Shin Bo, began publishing in Hawaii in 1940.

The growth of Asian American media (including radio) has been largely influenced by the number and the nature of Asian immigrants. For example, a large number of Chinese, Filipino and Korean newspapers have began since the late 1960s as the number of immigrants from these countries began to increase at a fast rate. In an examination of the Filipino-American press, Hart (1977) notes that 80 percent of the 28 U.S. and Canadian publications have started

since 1969. Similarly, all of the five Korean-language newspapers currently published in Los Angeles has started since 1967. Some of the Chinese, Filipino and Korean newspapers were started to support the various political factions in their mother country. McCue (1977) notes that of those Chinese newspapers started in New York, there were one Communist paper and several Koumintang papers. Hart (1977) also shows that since 1973 one new Filipino-American publication has started that is pro-Marcos and eight that are anti-Marcos.

As McCue notes in his examination of Chinese dailies in New York City, Asian American press in general has changed as the new generation of Asian immigrants as well as the influx of new immigrants began to produce a more diverse Asian American communities in this country. More specifically, the old and the new Asian American newspapers can be distinguished by their editorial emphasis and, in some cases, by language of publication. One of the major differences between the old and the new style of Asian American papers is the amount of attention paid to news about "the mother country" vs. news about "the community:" The old style newspapers tend to emphasize news about "the mother country," while the new style papers tend to emphasize community news. Though such distinction still remains in most of Asian American papers, some changes have been taking place. For example, one of the largely circulated Korean newspapers in Los Angeles, Hankook Ilbo (roughly 10,000), began to publish its daily issue in 1967 with 12 pages devoted to news from Korea and 2 pages devoted to news about the Korean communities in Los Angeles and elsewhere in the U.S. By 1972, however, it increased its space to 12 pages for the coverage of community news. Furthermore, in 1976, it introduced a 2-page of English version on a weekly basis, containing one page of news about Korea and the other of Korean community news.

Whether these changes take place within a given newspaper or with emergence of the new-style immigrant press, the shift to community-oriented news operation or at least the increasing attention to commuity affairs happening in the U.S. appears to have been experienced by most Asian American newspapers. McCue notes that in the face of increasing demands for news about Chinatown by the new immigrants in New York, the old-style Chinese dailies in that area with their Asian emphasis and lack of community news could not continue to exist. Similarly, Hart notes that a few Filipino publications devote only a little space to current events in the Phillipines; most of the publications devote their space to local Filipino-American events. At the same time, however, McCue notes that some Chinese dailies maintain the old tradition as the Chinese language provides its own clues to the paper's loyalties. In some cases, these two different approaches are well integrated. The largest chain Japanese daily newspapers, such as the Los Angeles Shimpo and the Chicago Shimpo, publish both Japanese and English version in their daily issue with almost even emphasis on the news about Japan and Japanese communities in the U.S.

In summary, then, the Asian American press seems to meet the information needs of both the first-generation Asian immigrants and the later generations by providing news of their own community and "mother country" either in their own mother language, in English, or in both. Although some ethnic media observers predicted that the ethnic press would gradually die as ethnics become assimilated into the mainstream of American life and melt into American society, the medium continues to survive; it further continues to develop during the 1970s as new ethnic immigrants are appearing in American society.

The other growth in Asian American media during the 1970s is experienced in the broadcasting media, both radio and television. Though still limited in scope, both radio and television programming servicer specifically targeted

for Asian Americans are found in major metropolitan areas where these populations are concentrated, including Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Chicago, and Hawaii. In Los Angeles, for example, there are 3 Japanese-language radio and television programming services each, 3 Chinese-language TV services, 2 Korean-language TV services and 3 Korean-language radio services. All of these broadcasting services are carried on commercial stations owned by Americans on a hourly-rent basis. Except for some special cases, the typical TV broadcast provides 3 to 9 hours of programming per week and the typical radio broadcast 1 to 12 hours a day.(There is one Korean-language radio station in Los Angeles which broadcasts 24 hours a day and there are 4 Japanese-language radio stations in Hawaii which broadcast between 8 to 19 hours a day.) Surprisingly, no broadcasting service is available for the Filipino population in Los Angeles.

--INSERT TABLE 2 HERE--

Table 2 shows the typical television service of Chinese, Japanese and Korean groups in the Los Angeles are in terms of their structure and programming. As can be noted, all three television services targeted for their own ethnic population are operated on a small scale in terms of financing, broadcasting hours and programming services. They broadcast only several hours per week and spend an annual budget of less than $1 million to operate the system -- the figures not comparable to any commercial television by any standard. In programming, the pattern of reliance on imported materials from "the mother country" and lack of locally produced programs is particularly noticeable. Thus, there appears to be the need for this particular medium to grow if it can meet the information and entertainment needs of Asian Americans.

Asian-American Audiences:

Asian-Americans are perhaps the most underrepresented ethnic minorities as the subjects of research on media behavior. A search of the scientific literature concerned with the media behavior of Asian-Americans shows that only four studies have dealt directly with the media habits of Asian-Americans: three on Koreans (Lee, 1979; Ryu, 1978; Won, 1977) and one on Chinese (Tsang, 1976). None was found for Japanese or Filipinos. Others were concerned with the acculturation and communication process of Asian-immigrants (Chang, 1972; Kim, 1977; Nagata, 1969). The latter type of research provides limited information on the media behavior of Asian-Americans. The scarcity of Asian-American populations in the scientific audience research literature thus make it difficult to provide comparable data on the media behavior of Asian-Americans. The focus of this section is therefore on issues of substance--implications from the findings of these studies, limitations of the available evidence, and future research agenda.

An analysis of studies on the Asian-American audiences reveals that the following factors have been examined in the course of these studies: (1) media usage, including both American mass media and ethnic mass media, (2) media preference and/or the content preference, (3) motivations for media exposure and preference, and (4) factors affecting media exposure and preference. Since the last category encompasses all, it will be incorporated in the discussion of the first three factors.

Media Usage: In discussing the media behavior of Asian-Americans as well as most other ethnic minorities in the United States, two types of media consumption have to be taken into consideration: one, American mass media consumption and the other, ethnic mass media consumption.

Certainly, ethnic media consumption depends on the availability of ethnic media for a specific ethnic group in a given community, and the availability of ethnic media varies by community, depending upon the size and economic structure of ethnic groups in the community as well as demands. For example, Hur, et. al. (1980) found that (1) there were more Japanese, Korean and Chinese radio and television stations and programs in Los Angeles than in Chicago, and that (2) there were more radio and television programs for Japanese, Koreans and Chinese than for Filipinos in the Los Angeles area. There are a number of factors contributing to the consumption of ethnic-language media. One is the structural factor which influences the availability of ethnic media as well as the quality of services by these media. This includes the size and economic power of ethnic groups in a given community. A second factor is the composition of an ethnic group. There is enough evidence that ethnic media consumption is related to ethnic language fluency and length of residence in the host country (Chang, 1972; Jeffres and Hur, 1980; Kim, 1977; Nagata, 1969). A third factor is the extent to which members of an ethnic group maintain ethnic group identify. This includes both psychological dimension of ethnic identification and behavioral manifestation of ethnic group attachment such as ethnic friendship network and memberships in ethnic organizations

Some actual data on the consumption pattern of both American mass media and ethnic mass media by Asian-Americans are found in the studies by Lee (1979), Kim (1977), Nagata (1969), and by Won (1977). In general, the available evidence in these studies indicates that the immigrant's consumption of American mass media steadily increases over the years, while his use of ethnic mass media decreases gradually over the years and is replaced by the host mass media. Nagata (1969) demonstrated differences in interpersonal and mass communication behaviors among first, second, and third-generation Japanese-

Americans. Both Chang and Won reported some differences in mass media behavior among three groups of Korean immigrants: the assimilators preferred American media; the nativistic persons preferred Korean media; the bicultural persons has access to both media.

In another study of Korean immigrants, Lee (1979) found the usuage of each of American media and Korean media in the following proportion: American television (95%), Korean television (86%), Korean newspapers (83%), American radio (69%), American magazines (40%), American newspapers (37%), Korean magazines (24%), and Korean radio (23%). Since almost half of the respondents in the Lee's study were comprised of Koreans who had lived in America less than 5 years, low exposure to American newspapers could be expected. In fact, Lee noted that exposure to American newspapers was related to English fluency, education and income whereas exposure to American television was related to only age and sex. Such findings are not unfamiliar in audience research of the general public: education and income have been positively related to print media use among the American public. A difference is noted for factors affecting exposure to television in the Lee's study, however. While education and income are traditionally negatively related to broadcast media consumption among the general American public, they are not significant predictors of television viewing among Koreans. A similar finding is also noted in Hsu's study of Chinese in Canada. Thus, television appears to be a ubiquitous medium among Asian-Americans, regardless of immigrant generations and their socio-economic status. A close look at the available data further indicate that later generations of Asian immigrants, particularly second and third generation Japanese-Americans, show decrease in the viewing of their own television and increase in the viewing of American television.

Media and Content Preferences: Which media do Asian-Americans prefer for what kind of information and entertainment, and what particular content do they prefer in each medium? These are the questions raised in the course of analysis. The most interesting and useful data are again found in Lee's study. As shown in Table 2, newspapers were the most preferred medium for consumer-oriented information, community news, and editorial comment, while television was the most preferred medium for international news and entertainment. Surprisingly, English was the preferred language for the preferred use of television for such purposes inspite of the fact that about 48% of the sample in this study reported to have "much" or "very much" difficulty in English.

--INSERT TABLE 3 HERE--

Ryu (1978) also found similar evidence in the relationship between English proficiency and television program preferences: persons of low English proficiency and of high English proficiency alike preferred international, national and local news at a similar level. Differences are found only in different types of television entertainment, with persons of low English proficiency liking action shows and movies more than those of high English proficiency. Preference for both national and local news programs also emerged in the ratings of various television programs in a study of 13 ethnic groups in Cleveland by Jeffres and Hur (1980). In this study, movies, comedy shows, and musical variaty programs appeared in the next rankings.

Findings of these studies, then, suggest that Asian-Americans prefer television for news and entertainment--a pattern parallel to the general American public. As noted in Table 3, however, both American television and

newspapers appeared to fail to meet the needs of Asian-Americans in the area of consumer-oriented information and ethnic community news. Jeffres and Hur (17) confirmed this notion in their survey of 13 ethnic groups concerning their liking of ethnic press and suggestions for changes in ethnic media. A majority of their sample listed "ethnic community news," "news about the mother country," and "news of other ethnics" when asked about what they liked most about ethnic press, and suggested more of these types of news for changes in ethnic media content.

Motivations for Media Usage: Although there has been increasing trend toward the uses and gratifications approach to mass media research, little information exists about ethnic minorities' reasons for media usage and their gratifications from media consumption. Relevant information to this quest is found only in the Ryu's study (1978). In general, his study shows that more of the fluent English-speaking ethnics watched television frequently for relaxation or to see specific programs they enjoyed; more of the less-fluent English-speaking ethnics watched television frequently in order to learn or get something of usefulness to socialize them. Most frequently cited reasons for watching television by persons of low English proficiency included the following: "it shows what people living in America are like," "it helps me understand the American language," "it is educational," "it explains how the political system works in America," and "it gives the most complete news coverage."

This particular finding is rather interesting when considering the predominantly entertaining nature of American television. Although perception of American television as predominantly entertainment fare is widely accepted by the general public, Asian American ethnics appear to utilize American television as informational and educational sources in the midst of its entertainment materials. In such a sense, public television promises a great potential for

ethnic minorities in general and new immigrants in particular who are in a disadvantaged position in this country and in a great need of adequate socializing agents. By providing specialized programming materials for ethnic minorities, it can meet the needs of these people that are not fulfilled either by the majority commercial media or by the ethnic minority media.

Summary and Conclusion:

As can be noted in the above examinations, the lack of research information on both Asian American media and audiences does not allow anything beyond the most cursory analysis. Despite the significant proportion of Asian Americans in the U.S. population and the growing existence of Asian American media in major cities of the U.S., the general information on the communication environment of Asian Americans is not readily available and the research information, much less. Though one can easily find the lists of Asian American newspapers and broadcasting services through telephone directories of major cities where Asian Americans are concentrated (such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and Hawaii), such fundamental documents as Editor and Publisher Yearbook and Broadcasting Yearbook do not provide even rudimentary information on Asian American media organizations. Undoubtedly, then, there is a great need for mass communication researchers as well as professionals to pay attention to these specific populations. This paper was a modest attempt for such efforts.

The following summaries are, therefore, presented to provide a basis for future research concerned with Asian American media and their audiences.

(1) There is an evolutionary process of the growth of Asian American media -- the process that has been found in the growth of other ethnic minority media, such as Spanish-language media in the U.S. Based on the pattern of immigration and the demands of Asian American audiences, there seems to be a continuing growth of Asian American media.

(2) There is the pattern of inequality in Asian American media services for their audiences in general. The pattern of availability of Asian American media indicates that fewer sources of mass-mediated information via ethnic media are available per capita to Asian American ethnics. There is a tendency of media channel crowding with services being inequally distributed within and across Asian American groups. For example, the Chinese, Japanese and Korean communities in the Los Angeles area are served by a large number of their own media including newspapers, radio and television. In contrast, some of these communities in the other areas are not served by any medium at all.

(3) The contents of Asian American media are in general designed to meet the needs of their audiences by emphasizing news about the community and the "mother country," along with cultural entertainment in the form of music, drama, poetry and literature. At the same time, however, the emphasis on "the mother country" news in some Asian American newspapers poses conflict to their readers who often demand more news about their own communities in the U.S. This problem is more acutely experienced in broadcasting services. The pattern of heavy reliance on imported programs and the lack of locally produced programs is particularly noted in all Asian American radio and television services. Whether Asian American broadcasting services would follow the changes taking place in Asian American newspapers has yet to be seen.

(4) There is a clear pattern of Asian Americans' dependency on their own media in everyday life and, furthermore, in the development of Asian American communities in the U.S.

(5) Finally, the increasing penetration of Asian American media and the existing dependency on imported media content materials constitute a series of very complex and important information resource flows and information content flows between Asian American media and their home country media.

TABLE 1*

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

FOR FOUR ASIAN-AMERICAN POPULATIONS

	Japanese	Chinese	Filipinos	Koreans
Total Populations	586,675	433,469	336,823	70,598
Birth Place				
Foreign-Born	21%	45%	53%	54%
Native-Born	79%	55%	47%	46%
Median Years of Schooling	12.5	12.4	12.2	12.9
% of High School Graduates	68.8%	57.8%	54.7%	71.1%
Mean Family Income	$13,511	$12,210	$10,651	$12,540

* For source of information, see U.S. Bureau of Census (33).

TABLE 2

STRUCTURE AND PROGRAMMING OF

TYPICAL CHINESE, JAPANESE AND KOREAN TELEVISION SERVICES

	Chinese TV	Japanese TV	Korean TV
Station Broadcasting Programming	KWHY-TV, Ch. 22	KSCI-TV, Ch. 18	KSCI-TV, Ch. 18
Number of Employees	3	20	18
Annual Budget	$70,000	$1 Million	$80,000
Hours of Broadcasts	3 hrs/week	7 hrs/week	6 hrs/week
Programming Types			
Community News	10%	15%	5%
Mother Country News	%	10%	10%
U.S. News	5%	5%	5%
Ethnic-Language Cultural and Educational Prog.	5%	5%	5%
Ethnic-Language Entertainment Prog.	75%	60%	75%
U.S. Cultural Prog. (English)	-	1%	-
Sports	-	4%	-
Imported/Locally-Produced Programming			
Imported	80%	75%	90%
Locally Produced	20%	25%	10%
Imported Programming Cost			
Drama	$600/hr	$300/hr	
Music/Variety	$100/hr	$300/hr	No Charge
News/Documentary	$100/hr	$200/hr	
Organization Name and Affiliation	Chinese TV, Independent	United TV, Independent	Dong Yang TV, Affiliated with Dong Yang TV in Korea
Network Connection in the U.S.	None	Japanese TV Network (L.A., S.F., N.Y., Hawaii)	None

TABLE 3*

PREFERRED MEDIUM AND LANGUAGE

FOR VARIOUS MEDIA CONTENT

Media Content	Preferred Medium	Preferred Language
Consumer-Oriented Information	Newspaper (70%)**	Korean (67%)
International News	Television(49%)	English(55%)
News about the Korean Community	Newspaper (87%)	Korean (91%)
Entertainment	Television(72%)	English(62%)
Editorial Comment	Newspaper (62%)	Korean (58%)

* For source of information, see Lee (20)

** Percentage figures indicate the proportion of the respondents (N of 279) who cited "the most preferred medium" or "language" for the relevant media content.

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